TWO SPEECHES

Delivered in the House of Representatives March 7, and March 17, 1806, by Mr. SLOAN.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

For the information of some who may read the following Speeches delivered in that debate, the resolution offered by Mr. GREGG is here inserted.

WHEREAS Great Britain impresses citizens of the United States, and compels em to serve on board her ships of war, and also seizes and condemns vessels be-nging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes being the *bona fide* operty of American citizens, not contraband of war, and not proceeding to aces besieged or blockaded, under the pretext of their being engaged in time of ar in a trade with her enemies which was not allowed in time of peace :

And whereas the government of the United States has repeatedly remonstrated the British government against these injuries, and demanded satisfaction there-r, but without effect,

Therefore, *Resolved*, That until equitable and satisfactory arrangemen's on ese points shall be made between the two governments, it is expedient that from d after the——day of——next, no goods, wares, or merchandize, of the owth, product, or manufacture of Great Britain, or of any of the colonies or pendencies thereof ought to be imported into the United States, *Provided*, wever, that whenever arrangements deemed satisfactory by the President of the nited States shall take place, it shall be lawful for him by proclamation to fix a lay on which the prohibition aforesaid shall cease.

MR. J. RANDOLPH in opposition, alledged that Great Britain stands now pre-ely in the same situation that republican France did in 1793—that she is fight-; the battles of liberty—that her fleet is the only defence we have against Gallic ranny—that the battle of Trefalgar prevented the fleets of France and Spain m levying contributions on our own commerce in our own seas—that she has a p of war for every square league of the ocean—that if we offend her minister, will put forth his strength, and make us feel it—that if the French government l the command of the ocean, they would be more tyrannical than the British.—a word, after passing the highest eulogiums on the British government ; and most bitter against the French ; he proceeded to invectives equally bitter inst our executive, and members of Congress, who appeared in favor of exe-ive measures—charging the President with sending an amphibious and ambigu-: message—and with withholding a message from the House of Representatives r weeks—which he asserted would have changed their opinions—and that they w it—and in severe terms reprobated the President's secret messages—charged : captain and mate (evidently meaning the President and Secretary of State) h leaving the care of the ship in a storm, to the care of the cook and cabbin

boy—then uttered the moſt bitter invectives that his genius could produce, againſt Congreſs acting with closed doors, alledging that members were aſhamed of their conduct, and dare not let the nation know what they had been doing—charged the members of Congress, inſtead of enquiring what ſhall be done with Britain France and Spain, with having their eyes fixed upon the half way houſe between the Capitol and George Town, (meaning the Preſident's) and their views directed to who ſhould be our next Preſident; to accompliſh which no pains had been ſpared!—Charged the ſupporters of executive meaſures, and of the reſolution under conſideration—with truckling to France, and bullying England—with being horn book politicians, Tom, Dick, and Harry, &c. that had not learned their A. B. C. and what was worſe they never could, they were ſo void of reaſon that they ought to be put in ſtraight waiſtcoats, confined in dark rooms, fed on water gruel, &c.—loaded the merchants with reproachful epithets, alledging that they would ſacrifice the peace, intereſt, and happineſs of the United States to their unprincipled and unbounded avarice—that the members would attend to nothing but circular letters and newſpapers—and aſſerted that there never was a time when the Houſe was more unfit to tranſact this buſineſs (that is to ſay there never was a time when the Houſe was leſs diſpoſed to admit John Randolph to be ſole dictator)—he charged the Houſe with adjourning from Saturday till Monday, that they might ſeek the Lord—that they might hold a caucus; which it was evident had been the caſe—(I have heard of no member that knew of any caucus; nor do I believe any was held by the friends of the reſolution)—he aſſerted the reſolution to be a war meaſure; and charged the ſupporters thereof with advocating it as ſuch—which they never did—therefore his premiſes being unfounded. Every deduction, or conſequence drawn therefrom, or aſſertion founded thereon, muſt be unfounded alſo. The bitter invectives and groundleſs aſſertions before mentioned with many more too tedious here to inſert, in the courſe of his various communications during the debate, in which he occupied the floor upwards of ſeven hours—were many of them repeated over and over again, doubtleſs with a view, if poſſible, to learn his horn book ſcholars, at leaſt their A. B. C. in politics—but alas his patriotic labors failed, as appears by the votes on the paſſage of a bill on the 26th inſt. predicated on a reſolution of Mr. Nicholſon's, equally reprobated by him—Ayes 93 republicans—Noes 24 federaliſts and eight republicans—leaving but ſeven to condole with him in his misfortune. The foregoing prefatory introduction was thought neceſſary, both for thoſe who may have an opportunity of reading Mr. Randolph's ſpeeches, and thoſe who have not; becauſe the firſt which have been publiſhed, after having been reviſed by the author, appears very different from what it did when delivered in the committee. The following remarks are laid before the public, in the plain unlearned ſtyle in which they were delivered by the author, who has not abſented himſelf from the Houſe, to correct and reviſe his ſpeeches.

MR. SLOAN. I do not rise to deny, but to acknowledge myself, one of those horn-book politicians alluded to by a member from Virginia, and to assure this committee that I do not envy or begrudge that member either his superior genius, talents, or learning—and further, to ask on behalf of myself, and others of this class, the favor of being permitted to deliver our sentiments on this and other important subjects in such language as we are capable of, until our constituents may have an opportunity of electing other members of superior learning and talents, and further advanced in political knowledge. This is a favor I hope will not be denied, otherwise a great number of American citizens, the remainder of session and the ensuing session must go unrepresented.

In answer to the assertion that our late conduct respecting Spain was such as we dare not mention that we dare not take off the injunction of secrecy, that we are ash

ed to let the nation know the secret, permit me to assure that member, and this committee, that I feel neither shame nor compunction of heart for the part that I acted in that business; not doubting that when the injunction is taken of, and the public acquainted with the whole transaction; the real friends of the peace, and interest of the U. S. will fully approve the conduct of the majority with whom I had the pleasure to act, and which, were I by side glances, and insinuations to endeavor to impress the public mind, with a belief that a majority of their representatives had acted in a manner they were ashamed of—I conceive my constituents would thenceforth consider me unworthy of their confidence, and consequently of a seat on this floor.

We are told that we have no cabinet. Is it necessary, is it recognised by the constitution? No. The President's powers are defined, and have for five years been fulfilled to the satisfaction of the people.

I have heard of British cabinets, British ministers, and British privy councils——of their conduct I imbibed a very bad opinion, before the member alluded to, was out of his nurse's arms, and have seen no cause to change that opinion—it is therefore pleasing to me to hear that we have no such institution.

Mr. Chairman, however great my gratitude to that member for his paternal care over the children in politics on this floor, which roused him from his sick bed, to give his superior opinion upon this important subject, before our weak and feeble minds had been misled by Tom, Dick and Harry, or some other arrogant chap, that might have some knowledge of steering a ship at sea; but totally ignorant in navigating our vessel of state, I say, notwithstanding I gave all the attention in my power, to his eloquent speech of 2 hours 48 minutes, there was divers parts which my weak brain could not comprehend, and which I beg leave to lay before this committee for the purpose of receiving further information.

1. I cannot comprehend how our demanding the release of our impressed seamen; and restitution for unjust captures of our vessels; can be construed as throwing our weight in the scale of France, for the purpose of supporting a set of men, who do not support the public weal of the U. S.

2. Nor can I possibly discover that G. Britain stands precisely in the same situation that republican France did in '93. For information on this subject, let me ask, was it not British gold and British intrigue that then formed the coalition against republican France? And is it not the same that has formed the present coalition against monarchical France? Have the armies of France in either case advanced beyond their own territory, previous to the raising and advancing toward their powerful armies for the express purpose of subjugating them, and dividing their property amongst the coalesced powers? If the accounts received are true, they have not.

But we are told that Britain is now the only Barrier against tyranny, and her navy our only security, that the battle off Trafalgar prevented the fleets of France and Spain from laying our seaport towns under contribution, and that the British navy alone stands between us and their tyranny. Mr. Chairman, if a British subject was admitted on this floor, to advocate his sovereign's cause, I should from him have expected such language, but to hear it from a member of Congress has astonished me more than any thing I ever heard within these walls. I may add that I believe even a British subject of common sense and prudence would not have committed his character, by asserting that the combined fleets of Holland, France, and Spain, were so reduced, that ten British ships (I expect of the line was meant) would be glad to meet their whole force.

Neither can I comprehend that language that in one breath asserts that Spain has grossly insulted us on our own territory; that we pocket those insults because they are a favored nation, and in the next breath asserts that she is no nation; but those aggressions are the acts of France.

I here deem it my duty to make some remarks on observations made on this floor, which have a tendency to mislead and alarm the public mind with regard to France and Spain. We have been told that Spain has insulted us on our own territory. I appeal to the gentleman from Virginia whether he has not declared that we do not possess a foot of ground beyond the Iberville. If so, let the world judge of the consistency of his remarks. I ask if Spain has not ordered her cruizers to respect our vessels, and whether

France is not on a friendly footing with us. Shall then the public mind be deceived with the idea that Congress have not acted towards those nations with spirit? For what? Because our boundaries with Spain are not defined. I trust in God, we shall never go to war for that. I repeat it, our affairs are in a train of amicable settlement, and, I trust, they will be soon settled.

It is asserted that France would be as tyrannical on the ocean, as England, had she the same power—this is a point that I have neither foreknowledge or sagacity enough to determine, nor do I consider such assertions either necessary or proper on the present occasion, the degraded point of view in which Spain has been represented, the tyrannical disposition of France; and Britain represented as the only barrier against her tyranny, the forlorn hope of European liberty—I have heard with sorrow, believing such language highly improper, to be used in a legislative capacity, by any representative of a free people whose interest it is to cultivate peace and harmony with all nations of the earth.

I shall only trouble the committee with one more observation upon the learned and eloquent speech first mentioned, in which I think it was alledged that parchment was the only remedy applied to aggressions on our territory, for which a member from New Jersey might receive a vegetable specific. If I am the member alluded to, permit me to reply, that if by dealing in parchment, we can continue to purchase as good bargains as Louisiana, and thereby preserve peace, I hope the U. S. will always prefer dealing in that commodity rather than to imbrue their hands in human blood. Respecting vegetable specifics I shall only observe, that if that member lives to my age, needing no more specific medicine, either vegetable or mineral, he may consider it a great blessing; but which I think very improbable.

Mr. Chairman, believing it my duty to deliver my sentiments in as few words as possible, that other members standing on an equal floor, may have an opportunity to deliver theirs, I shall hasten to a conclusion—at the same time not doubting, that if I was disposed so to do, I could take up the time of the committee as long, and to as little purpose as any member within these walls.

I could, under the pretext of explaining, keep the floor two hours and nine minutes, if the chairman did not order me down, which I hope he will if ever I attempt it.

In explaining I could declare that I did not mean to stigmatize a respectable class of citizens with dishonesty, or any other reproachful epithet—and immediately compare them to butterflies of the day; & to slippery eels who will get round and evade any regulations or restrictions that can be made, whose interest is their guide, regardless of the peace and interest of the nation in which they reside.

I could declare that I had not insulted the House; but aimed at certain political characters—and in the next breath charge a majority of the same house with having hoodwinked its members, but unable to do so with foreign nations—I again could charge them with bullying England, and truckling to France, and exclaim in an imperious tone, this you have done and you know it.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on still further, and assert that the little trifling arguments of my opponents ought to bear no weight, because destitute of reason, that instinct the guide of the brute creation, was superior to such reason—yet declare, that I meant no insult to their understanding.

I could then in the prophetic line inform the committee, that if they offended the British minister, he would immediately put forth his strength, and make the United States feel it—and that although France at present appears friendly, she is like the still hog drinking swill, meditating future evil, and will eventually (if in her power) treat us worse than England.

I could in a few words remove this mighty bugbear that the freinds of the resolution have made so much ado about, I mean the impressment of three thousand of our seamen; by informing the committee that it has been the practice of Britain time immemorial—that it has been found indispensibly necessary to enable them to man their fleets—that is, to say, without these diabolical means, which none but infernal fiends in human shape could even use; they could not so effectually have carried fire and sword, devastation and plunder, to every habitable part of the globe; and thereby so greatly increased the quantum of human misery, and the cries of the widows and fatherless.

I could also, if my conscience would permit, after venting my hatred in the most bitter invectives against the French

peror, that my genius could invent, rging Congress with truckling to him; bestowing on the government of gland the highest applause, for their osition to French tyranny; repeat- deny being the apologist of Britain; a subsequent question arises, would members of this committee subscribe ne truth of such declarations?

ut, Mr. Chairman, I will detain the mittee no longer with telling them it might be done; but earnestly call r attention to what has been done, to it has been said on this floor—we have n told that France cannot get a nd of coffee, or sugar, from her own nds except through the medium of erican vessels, and that we have a ty that obliges us to treat them as of the most favored nations—this es the curtain, and gives a full and plete view of the whole scene—this lains in the most clear and explicit ner, the elaborate speech of two 's and forty-eight minutes, and the anation of two hours and nine mi- s. A horn book politician may by this rly discover the intention of the ber from Virginia, and Tom, Dick Harry, if they have only learned three first letters of the alphabet understand his meaning, and why would prefer an embargo, to even rtial non-importation of British ma- ctures. It is possible that George third, that zealous defender of the holy faith, by whose most gracious rs, the colonies of North America declared out of his protection; and wards his paternal care was further ifested, in burning their towns, dering their citizens, and causing prisoners to perish with famine, pestilence, in noisome dungeons, filthy prison ships. I say it is pos- as the precious life of this great be- ctor of mankind is yet preserved, we are told on this floor, remains ated with the same benevolent spi- ighting the battles of liberty, a- st Gallic tyranny; if he should fail nd, his pious zeal may induce him more to resort to his forlorn hope e did in the late war with republi- can France) declare all her ports and her allies in a state of blockade, cover the ocean with his fleets, in order to effect by famine, what he is unable to do by force of arms—in that case an embargo on American vessels would facilitate his purpose. But here let me ask this committee, can the Congress of the United States countenance such a procedure?—I hope not.

Before I sit down, let me ask the members of this committee, especially you in whose ears the expiring groans of your brethern in arms, of your beloved fellow citizens yet vibrates; slain by the murderous hands of the mercenaries of Great Britain; or more barbarously deprived of life, by famine or pestilence—can you while that same monarch reigns, and instead of diminishing, has added to the long, and black catalogue of crimes, set forth in our declaration of independence, which induced you to risk your lives in opposition to his tyranny; can you with complacency, or any degree of approbation, sit and hear that government who continues her tyranny and injustice to these United States, (witness the capture of our vessels and impressment of our seamen) held up by a member on this floor, as the only barrier we have against the tyranny of that nation who in our struggle assisted us with vessels of war, arms, ammunition, men, and money; whose soldiers fought by your side, and bled to support American liberty and independence, and whose government continues friendly towards us—I hope not, I believe you cannot, your hearts must turn indignant from such language. For my own part, I am free to declare, that since I have had the honor of a seat on this floor, I have heard nothing that has so hurt my feelings.

I have long borne them in silence—I am happy in obtaining a few moments in my plain unlearned way to express them, that this committee, and all the United States may know, that I retain the same abhorrence against British tyrany that I did in the revolutionary war; and also the same love for the liberty and independence of the United States.

EECH delivered on Mr. NICHOLSON'S *Resolution, March* 17.

R. SLOAN.——*Mr. Chairman:* wish always to do to others as I would be done unto, and as I do not love to be kept in suspence myself, I will

not keep this committee in suspence respecting my opinion on the present resolution. I am opposed to it because it does not mention what I consider the principal cause of our complaint against G. Britain; I mean the impressment of our seamen—at the same time declaring that I will eventually vote for any measure that I shall consider better than none. This is a line of conduct that I have thought it my duty to adopt in all cases since I have had a seat on this floor. From the course that other members have pursued in this debate, I expect I shall be permitted to give my reasons in favor of a non-intercourse with G. Britain, in preference to the prohibition of certain articles of their manufactures, contemplated by the present resolution.

Mr. Chairman, notwithstanding I am conscious of my inability to do justice to a subject of greater magnitude, as it respects the character, the interest and the peace and happiness of that beloved country that gave me birth, than any that has ever claimed the attention of the Congress of the U. S. since I have had the honor of a seat on this floor, I say I am happy nevertheless in having an opportunity to cast my mite into that treasury, which having been instituted upon a principle of perfect equality, the widow's mite is, or ought to be, as acceptable as the greatest gift from the superabundant treasures of the rich. In the observations that I shall make, it is not my intention, directly or indirectly, to charge those who differ with me in opinion, whether in a majority or minority, with ignorance or evil design, much less to stigmatize or reproach them with contemptible epithets—No, Mr. Chairman, I consider it my duty to consider many members on this floor as my superiors, and none as my inferiors. I consider it my duty after having given my reasons for or against any subject in discussion, to cheerfully submit to the decision of a majority; and I also consider it my duty to treat every member of the legislature of the union, with that respect due to fellow-citizens standing on an even floor. I consider it my duty, instead of holding up the interest of the northern states opposed to the interest of the southern, or the eastern to the western; to view them all as members of the same body, consequently, that one cannot suffer without the whole being affected. I consider it my duty, instead of taking advantage of local situations and different occupations, productive at certain times of temporary jarring interests, to array one part of our fellow citizens in opposition to the other part; contrawise, to endeavor to shew, that such temporary inconveniencies cannot long remain, but like water seeking its level; the inequality will soon be removed. This I conceive to be my duty, in order to promote the love and harmony amongst members of this House, and citizens of the U. S. in general, which I consider as the only efficacious cement of our union, by which our present happy form of government can be continued, and our rights and liberties we enjoy handed down unimpaired to future generations. A contrary line of conduct is, in my opinion, derogatory to the character of any person honored with a seat in this House, and injurious to the peace, liberty and happiness of the U. S.

Having briefly proposed the premises which I mean to observe as the rule of my conduct, I shall offer my reasons in favor of non-intercourse with G. Britain, in case she persists in these insults and injuries, which is the subject of the present discussion, and which in my opinion, the U. S. hath already suffered too long.

In offering my reasons, I shall not bring into view the conduct of other nations to justify G. Britain—Neither shall I assert that Bonaparte is an usurper, & a tyrant, that he has annihilated Spain, and is now aiming at the conquest of the world; but is graciously pleased to leave the U. S. for the last victim he means to devour! What I have to say to this (if it be true) is to acknowledge my gratitude for his having determined to give us the longest time to repent of our sins, of which there is great need; and to give it as my opinion, that we have no right to interfere with the form of government in France; the people there having as good a right to choose an emperor as we a President.

I shall not take up the time of the committee in reading documents to prove the magnitude of the grievances, that having been done (in a former part of the discussion) by my friend from Mass. (Mr. Bidwell) and the documents having been long in the possession of members, renders it unnecessary; but shall first endeavor to prove, that it is our duty as Representatives of the people, to apply an effectual remedy to existing grievances, and to prevent their repetition in future; that we are called upon not only by the sufferings of our constituents, but by the sacred obligation we owe to

aracter of our country, and by our ispensible duty to preserve that racter without spot or blemish, in our ercourse with foreign nations; which only be done by a system of justice equality, granting no peculiar fa- to one that we do not to others; and the other hand submitting to no ult or injury from one nation that we not submit to from others.

and secondly, that we can at this e obtain redress of grievances with- any risque, or probability of war h G. Britain, because it would be trary to her interest, and because in e of war, she must eventually be loser; and also, that if she should so contrary to her interest, as to er a non-intercourse law to go into ration, it would be a great benefit he U. S. by encouraging home manu- tures.

And thirdly, call the attention of the an.ittee to the sufferings of our im- ssed seamen.

and fourthly, endeavor to show, that opinion of some members who are osed to non-intercourse, because it ild operate partially on different tions of the union, are not well found-

And lastly, that it is our duty to lay a- e all local ideas, and consider the U. as one body politic, and that if but limb be injured, the whole is bound h in interest, in justice and in policy inite in the means of obtaining re- ess.

f in delivering my sentiments on s subject, any member on this com- tee should conceive that I discover much warmth, I desire it may be at- uted solely to the abhorrence and estation with which I have long wed the insolent and injurious con- t of G. Britain towards the U. S.— to her suffering subjects, them I e, and their sufferings I pity; but deceptive, oppressive and tyranni- administration of her government, I most decidedly and conscientiously ior and hate.

Mr. Chairman, when I laid a resolu- n on the table for the purpose of pro- iting intercourse with G. Britain, in se she should refuse to enter into any rangement for the amicable settle- nt of existing differences, I queried at was become of the spirit of '76, cause I considered a portion of that rit that gained our liberty necessary retain it. I renew the query, what become of that independent spirit, that chose rather to part with life than inherent rights? Have we, with the merchandize of G. Britain, imported the servile disposition of her oppressed and degraded subjects? Is it possible that the fascinating charms of her gew-gaws and fripperies is so powerful, as to induce the representatives of the U. S. in Congress assembled, rather than suffer a temporary privation, to permit the rights and liberties of their constituents to be trampled on with impunity by that haughty tyrannical nation? I say the representatives, being convinced beyond a doubt that a great majority of the citizens are not barely willing, and ready to support any just and firm measures that Congress shall adopt, for the purpose of obtaining redress of grievances, and support of their just rights; but anxiously looking for the adoption of decisive measures.

Shall we then, chosen by them as temporary guardians of their rights and liberties, neglect, or treat with indifference the numerous memorials that have been presented from various parts of the union? I hope not. I hope we shall adopt such firm and decisive measures, as will compel the British government to make restitution for past injuries; and enter into just arrangements for the prevention of similar injuries in future.

But, Mr. Chairman, we have been frequently told, that such a plan would produce war with G. Britain. This is no new doctrine to me. I have been frequently charged with acting contrary to my peaceable principles, because I have taken an active part in opposing oppression, injustice, and every infringement of the inherent rights of the people; this I have done with a view to prevent war—injustice and oppression I consider as the principal predisposing causes of war, and that the best way to prevent the effect is to remove the cause.

Those causes I have lately seen raise the political thermometer in the U. S. nearly to war heat; but, thank God! I have lived to see it cooled down to a temperate state, and the cause greatly diminished, not by those destructive weapons that spread destruction over a land, and multiply the tears of widows and orphans, but by the force of truth and reason, those bloodless conquerors more powerful than the sword! I wish the government of the U. S. to use justice, truth and reason—these are the weapons that become the representa-

tives of a free people, and the only ones I conceive to be necessary, to preserve that liberty and independence lately purchased at the price of blood.

Separated by the Atlantic, 3000 miles from the oppressive governments of Europe, which originated in war, and can only be supported by carnage and bloodshed—possessed of an extensive and fertile country, embracing so many climates, as not only to produce all the necessaries, but also most of the luxuries of life—what have we to fear from Great Britain? What can she deprive us of? What but gewgaws and fripperies, that we are much better without, which tend to promote pride and idleness, those prolific parents of a numerous train of attendant vices, contrary to the principle of a republican government, and derogatory to the character of a free and independent nation.

But it is alledged, that non intercourse with Great Britain would injure our revenue—to this I answer, that I have no apprehension that government would act so contrary to her interest, as to let such a law go into operation; but admitting they should, for every million of revenue immediately lost, the United States would eventually gain five, and probably much more, by increasing home manufactures, which can only make us in fact a rich, free, and independent nation—for I contend our independence is incomplete, while we are dependant for so great a part of our cloathing, on a nation possessed of so powerful a marine, as to assume the exclusive jurisdiction of the ocean, and that envies our liberty and increasing wealth.

I am sensible, Mr. Chairman, that I am running counter to a strong current of public opinion; that it is our interest to pursue agriculture and commerce; leaving manufactures to old nations whose numerous population reduces the price of labour—but, I am happy in beholding this false theory daily falling before the irresistible power of fact—the cheapness of food in many parts of the United States, overbalances the high price of labour so much, as to enable various kinds of home manufactures to be sold lower than those of the same quality imported from Great Britain. Witness shoes, which has nearly excluded importation; and I am credibly informed, that coarse home made linnen, can at this time be purchased lower than imported, of the same quality. As a further proof of my position, will detain the committee with but o more fact. Some time after the rev lutionary war, when large quantities cotton was imported for our own co sumption; a manufacture of that ar cle was begun at Wilmington, a brought to such perfection, that a me chant in Philadelphia informed m that he could purchase various kinds cottons lower, and of superior quality those he imported from England; a that a British agent, on viewing so of those goods in his store, observ that would never do; we, says h (meaning the merchants of Great B tain) must put a stop to this—and sho ly after the factory was burned dow —Here let me ask the members of t committee, whether if at that tim when a manufacturer of cotton had import it under a heavy duty, and cou nevertheless rival the British; he cou not now, when many millions of poun the growth of our own soil, is export annually, which might be obtained fr of duty; and when labour saving m chines is brought to so much great perfection?—And secondly, wheth any free and independent citizen wou not prefer a temporary sacrifice of i terest to a servile dependence, upon haughty tyrannical nation, whose infl ence and gold, has not only greatly i jured the infant manufactures of t United States, but ruined many in va ous parts of the world. And third let me ask you, my southern brethre who, I am told, are rapidly maki fortunes by raising and exporting co ton; would it not give you addition pleasure to sell this raw material which I am informed, five thousa dollars worth, when manufactured mak one hundred thousand) to your brethr of the middle and eastern states, a receive it manufactured from then whereby the industrious poor of o own citizens would be supported, ratl than from a foreign nation. I have doubt but that you would.

Before I dismiss this subject, let r ask what raised Great Britain to aff ence and power? Was it not by givi such encouragement to manufactur as to induce manufacturers from va ous parts of Europe to emigrate to th island, whereby their internal streng has been greatly increased, and th fleets and armies principally support by the product of their manufactur These are facts that I trust no memb on this floor will deny.

am told that Great Britain charges xport duty of four per cent. on all on goods imported into the United es, and but one and a half on those rted to other countries. This in- s me to renew the query, where is spirit of '76? Has it fled from our ? Are we disposed cheerfully to nit to every species of insult and in- ce that nation chose to impose upon What peculiar advantage do we ve from their trade, to induce us to nit to higher duties than any other on? Is it because the balance of trade is eleven or twelve millions of ars per annum against us? Or is it use the credit they give has induced y of our farmers and mechanics to e their useful occupations which r understood, and flock into populous s, go largely into trade, and busi- which they did not understand; after living in pride and luxury a years, prove insolvent, and wrong r creditors out of many thousand ars? Mr. Chairman, the more I sider and investigate this subject, the re I am astonished at the conduct of United States towards Great Bri- n—the more I am astonished at the duct of the representatives in Con- s assembled. In this astonishment, r with me while I address this com- tee, in the language of one former- o the Galatians—Oh! foolish Ame- ans, who hath bewitched you, thus submit to injury and insult, from a na- n whose trade subjects you to a loss eleven or twelve millions of dollars annum, and who charges 4 per cent. the goods you import from her, and t one and a half to all other nations? My friend, the Speaker, attempted explain this paradox, or rather reject- the premises as an impossibility, that e United States should increase in alth, when nearly one half of their reign trade, instead of producing pro- , threw a balance of eleven or twelve llion of dollars against them—but, he ght have avoided the Herculean task, producing to the committee that hich was impossible, because it never isted; by recurring to the fact ad- iced by my friend from Massachusetts, Mr. Bidwell) and the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury on our tables, viz. that this deficiency was overbalanced by our more profitable trade carried on with other nations. I do not rely barely upon the information given upon this floor, or the documents before us. to establish this fact. I rely also upon preceding documents, and the information I have received from merchants, and others well acquainted with the nature of our trade with Great Britain. All agreeing (that with some rare exceptions) the balance is so much against the United States, that were it not for the more profitable trade carried on with other nations, instead of growing rich, we should soon be reduced to a state of poverty.

For this reason I am in favor of non intercourse, rather than a prohibition of her manufactures; because if we cannot do without them, we could, in my opinion, procure them from other nations second hand, upon more advantageous terms than under the present duties, we do now immediately from them; and because I consider gratitude, justice and the interest of our country obligatory upon us, to encourage trade with those nations who deal with us upon fair and honorable terms, and to discourage it with those who do not. And lastly, because I am fully persuaded, it would soon induce Great Britain to open a fair and permanent trade with her West India islands, much more advantageous to the United States than the trade to the mother country. I shall conclude this subject with returning my sincere thanks to the Speaker, for the very able and decisive manner in which he has supported my premises in favor of American manufactures, by informing the committee that they do not now, as formerly, depend on a great number of hands, by reason of labor saving machines being brought to so much greater perfection. This appears to me a conclusive reason, founded upon fact.

Mr. Chairman, during the present session I have heard with surprize and regret, members of this House represent the condemnation of our property, and impressment of our seamen, as things of trivial consequence: and that the alarm was principally raised by the merchants,

for the purpose of speculation—that if they could induce Congress to prohibit intercourse with Great Britain, they would raise their goods one hundred per cent. and country produce fall in proportion, by which means, instead of losing, they would be greatly benefited. This language I repeat, has exceedingly hurt my feelings, since this subject has become a common topic of conversation, for two reasons: First, it has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of one class of useful and respectable citizens from the other, and more numerous classes, and thereby lessen that confidence, unity and harmony, that is as necessary to continue amongst the various members of our body politic, for the preservation of national strength and vigor, as that the various parts of an animal body should harmoniously act together.

And secondly, if we judge of things to come, by things past, these insinuations will not be realised—the reverse, in my opinion, will be the case—the diminution of sales, will overbalance the advanced price. I know of but one class of merchants that would be benefited; that is those who wish to leave business, having on hand a large stock of goods, which sold at an advanced price; they would consequently be gainers; but those of small capitals who wish to increase them by continuing in trade; would suffer at least, in equal proportion with farmers. I have also heard it alledged, that it is only in carrying foreign articles from one belligerent port to another, and not in directly transporting our own commodities to any belligerent port, that the British take, and condemn our vessels; and by that trade the merchants only are benefited; therefore improper for our government to run any risque to support them in that trade. This, Mr. Chairman, appears to me a very extraordinary and absurd mode of reasoning. So far from being entitled to no support from government, I consider it an extra benefit, and therefore entitled to an extra support. To explain my meaning on this subject, let me ask this question? If our merchants provide vessels sufficient to transport all the produce we can spare to foreign markets; and the return cargoes brou into our ports, is more than we wan home consumption; which surplus re-export, and by these extra exerti gain one million of dollars annu Is not the property of the United St increased in that proportion? Shall then by neglect, damp or check this terprising spirit in that class of citi who, by their extraordinary exerti have greatly increased our revenue wealth? I hope not. I hope Cong will unite in applying an efficacious medy for past losses, and a sufficient ventative in future.

I shall now call the attention of committee to the conduct of the co manders of British armed vessels pr sing our seamen, confining them on bo ships of war, and obliging them to as in fighting their battles with nations amity and peace with the United Stat These are crimes of so horrid a natu as can only be perpetrated by infer spirits, actuating human bodies, su ported by a government, which as I ha before observed, was founded in w and is supported by tyranny, oppressi and the effusion of human blood! I none say that I am painting this scene too deep colours, or attaching grea infamy to the actors than they deser It is impossible. If you doubt this, a company me in a short visit to the lon cottage, where sits weeping two ag parents, for the loss of their only s whose filial love induced him to take voyage to sea, hoping thereby to procu a more comfortable subsistence for h parents in the decline of life—attend their mournful tale. We received letter from our dear son, informing th he had a prosperous voyage, was r turning home, hoping shortly to see h native land; but alas! met by a Briti ship of war, he was inhumanly forc on board, and carried we know n where—our only hope is blasted—a the remainder of our days consigned poverty, grief and wee!

One more visit to a still more affecti scene, I conceive will fully establis my position, that the actors in this in fernal tragedy, cannot be too much e ecrated. It is to the small chamber a disconsolate widow, bathed in tear surrounded by helpless orphans—wit faltering voice, interrupted by many bitter sigh, she relates the cause of he woe!—My dear husband finding h could make more by following the se

by staying on shore, having been
it more than twelve months, when I
ved a letter, informing that his
ge had been prosperous—that he
cted soon to arrive with sufficient
erty to place me, and these dear
ren, in a comfortable situation—
h! how shall I relate the dreadful
se! When in sight of his native
—met by a British armed vessel—
elled by a gang of inhuman mon-
, in human shape, to go on board a
of war, to assist in fighting their
es; where he received a mortal
d, of which he languished—of
h he died—and with him died all
y, all my comfort, and all my hope!
rhaps I shall be told that I am ad-
ing the passions. Be it so. But
be remembered, that I am not ad-
ing them with fiction, or the en-
astic flights of imagination; but,
enting a feeble portrait of those
and horrid tragedies, that we have
ng suffered to be acted with impu-
upon our defenceless fellow citi-

r. Chairman, near thirty years has
d away, since the citizens of these
ed States have suffered under this
ading oppression and cruelty, pe-
r to the British government. In
f I shall read a memorial of two of
venerable patriots of that day.—
r the sake of humanity it is to be
ed, that men would endeavor to
iate, as much as possible, the una-
ble miseries attending a state of
It has been said, that among the
sed nations of Europe, the ancient
ors of that state are much diminish-
but the compelling men by chains,
es, and famine, to fight against
friends and relations, is a new
of barbarity, which your nation
had the honor of inventing; and
sending American prisoners of war
frica and Asia, remote from all
ability of exchange, and where they
carce hope ever to hear from their
lies, even if the unwholesomeness
e climate does not put a speedy end
eir lives, is a manner of treating
ves that you can justify by no other
edent or custom, except that of the
savages of Guinea. We are your
hips most obedient humble ser-
s, B. Franklin, S. Deane——Lord
ount Stormont." To the above let-
he following reply was made:——
he King's Ambassador receives no
rs from rebels, except when they
e to ask mercy."——At that time
the event of the war was undecided; it was not in the power of Congress to prevent that cruel inhuman practice; not so at this time, it is now in our power—Shall we suffer that nation, after acknowledging our independence, to continue the same arbitrary and tyrannical cruelty over our seamen, sailing under protection of our own flag; that they did at that time, when they insolently stiled us rebels? I hope we shall not.

Here let me call the attention of the committee to the capture of the frigate Philadelphia, whereby upwards of 300 of our citizens became prisoners to the bashaw of Tripoli. How was this account received by members of Congress? What sensations did it produce, and what was the effect? I need not inform this committee. Every member, by turning to his journal, may satisfy himself, that prompt and decisive measures were adopted to procure their release from captivity. This case has been by some members contrasted with the impressment of our seamen. Let us analise the two cases, and see what similarity there is between them. Our captives at Tripoli had entered voluntarily on board a frigate of the United States, then at war with that power; and in that war were taken prisoners, and when so, were neither inhumanly beaten, nor compelled to bear arms against any nation, although the war was vigorously carried on by the United States, to reduce the town in which they were prisoners. Did they suffer any thing but what their own voluntary will subjected them to, captivity, a frequent attendant, and always a possible consequence of war? Will their case bear any comparison with that of a passenger, who to avoid the tyranny of a European despot, had left his native land, hoping to find a peaceful asylum in the United States the remainder of his days; supposing himself secure under the protection of their flag, escaped from the danger of the sea, in sight of land, with American seamen, endeared to him by their kindness on the passage; together forced by a press gang on board a ship of war, and there compelled to bear arms against their friends? It will not—it sinks into insignificancy—it is like a drop to the ocean. Shall we then treat with indifference an account laid on our tables, that three thousand of our seamen are not only taken captive, but many of them ignominiously beaten with many stripes, and compelled to assist in fighting the battle of

the British government, with nations with whom we are at peace? If the case of our captives at Tripoli was sufficient to excite such tender sensations in the minds of members of Congress, as to induce them immediately to adopt efficient measures to obtain their release. Will not the insolence and barbarity of British armed vessels, pressing our seamen in the mouths of our harbors, after a perilous voyage, rejoicing in beholding again their native land—enjoying by anticipation, the pleasing company of their long absent friends—expecting in a few hours the completion of their happiness, in the rapturous embraces of their bosom friends, and beloved offspring. But alas! from their native land, and from all the most near and dear connections in life, they are inhumanly rent asunder, perhaps never again to see their hearts delight, but forced on board one of those infernal machines called a British ship of war, and there compelled to imbrue their hands in human blood, in the blood of those with whom they have no difference—they receive mortal wounds—they languish—they die—without any tender friend to sympathise with them in their affliction, or tenderly to close their dying eyes! Will not I say, reflecting on such scenes as these, not only excite a superior degree of sympathy and tender feelings of humanity; but raise an honest indignation, and decided detestation for the actors of those horrid scenes, and for that government, who pretends to be the principal supporter of liberty, and that holy religion, which enjoins its adherents to do unto all men as they would be done unto; and yet persists in those base and barbarous acts of injustice, which are disavowed and rejected by all other christian nations!—I hope it will. I hope there yet remains in this committee, some of the sparks of the sacred fire of liberty, that on the 4th of July, '76, arose into an irresistible flame, burned and destroyed that servile dependance on the haughty, oppressive, and tyrannical government of Great Britain, who wished to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. May the remaining sparks be re-kindled, and burn up the residue of the dregs of British tyranny. May the first session of the ninth Congress of the United States evince to the world, that they are worthy of, and mean to support that liberty and independence, lately purchased at the price of blood; which we have now in our power to do, without the effusion of human blood; only doing what I conceive to be our in pensible duty to act justly and impa ally towards all nations, with whom have intercourse, and to withhold tercourse from any nation that will in turn deal justly upon terms of per reciprocity.

Mr. Chairman, our situation on map of the world, places us in a c manding attitude—and our princi exports being the substantial nece ries of life, renders them essenti necessary to those European desp many of whose wretched subjects, stead of being permitted peaceabl cultivate the soil, are hired, or c pelled to leave this innocent occupat and embody themselves for the pur of learning more completely the in nal art of inhumanly butchering the man species, and to waste and dest in a short time the productions of gr and fertile countries; whereby alw want, and sometimes famine is pro ced! Thus situated, the United St can, without shedding of human bl and without permanent injury to her venue, or citizens, compel the haug tyrant of the ocean to do that just which several of the most powerful tions in Europe have long strove in to effect, by equipping large fleets, raising mighty armies. For the Un States of America is reserved by Allwise Disposer of events, that gl ous work of effecting by peace means, a cessation from injustice injuries, which war measures has tended to increase. To prove this we need only recur to the history of century—there we find three of most powerful maritime nations of rope, Holland, France and Spain, tending with England severally jointly, for the sovereignty of the —and what has been the effect? the blood stained ocean, and the nu rous vessels of war built and equip by those nations that have heretof and do at this time, make compo parts of the British navy—answer question.

Perhaps I shall be told that I h given up the argument, by acknowl ing that the three greatest mari powers during the last century, b posing the tyranny of Britain, onl creased her power at their own pence and loss. No, Mr. Chair I adduce this fact to shew, that the tacked her in the only point where was invulnerable—they attacked

ooden walls, raised by her manufac-
ures, and supported in part by the
lunder of foreign nations—they attack-
d the effect—let us attack the cause—
emove the cause, and the effect will
ease. This is not a sentiment peculiar
) my weak brain; I believe it to be a
entiment adopted by a great majority
f the most enlightened and best inform-
d citizens of the United States. I be-
eve so from verbal communications,
nd from public prints, an extract from
ne of those I shall now read. "It is
xpected, says the Independent Chro-
icle, that on the meeting of Congress,
he important business of national com-
merce will be fully considered—that
easures will be adopted to give pro-
ection to our property and seamen;
hat the British nation will feel the
veight of our trade, not only within
heir manufacturing towns, but the is-
ands. We have a strength in this spe-
ies of warfare, which would command
he attention and respect of that nation.
Our imports of their fantastical articles
of fashion, which only serves to vitiate
our habits, and introduce idleness and
issipation among our citizens, are the
nain springs which enable them to en-
rich themselves at our cost. Let us
only cease to barter our national honor
for gewgaws and articles of foppery,
and we might bid defiance to that power,
which now wantonly sports with our so-
vereignty and independence. The sup-
pression of a cargo of British manufac-
tures would be more powerful than ten
sail of the line; for the latter might be
captured, and occasion a loss of millions,
but the former would enforce its opera-
tion with an efficacy too powerful to be
concealed, attended with the saving of
millions of dollars, which are yearly
remitted for superfluities. Let us know
our strength as it relates to Britain, and
we should not hesitate long in putting it
into operation. Ships of war are the
strength of Britain, but a non intercourse
would soon dismount every cannon of
their navy."

However chimerical this may appear
to the eulogists of Britain, who suppose
her power invincible, and her resources
inexhaustible; they are as certain and
inevitable consequences as that water
will quench fire, or, that taking away
the fuel will cause it to go out. But
suppose Great Britain should, contrary
to her interest, refuse to enter into just
and amicable arrangements with the
United States; should let a non inter-
course law go into operation; should
put forth her strength, as we have been
told she will do, and make us feel it.
What would be the consequence? In
my opinion, a horn book politician, that
has only learned his A. B. C. (if he has
not learned them in the school of a Bri-
tish minister) may discover the certain
and inevitable consequence, that as their
oppression and injustice to the colonies
produced a partial independence; their
continuance therein would complete the
system. I say a partial independence,
and conceive myself fully authorised in
adopting this language, as long as mem-
bers of Congress hold up an idea, that
we cannot exist without importing Bri-
tish manufactures; that non intercourse
would injure the United States more
than Great Britain, and that if we of-
fend her minister, he will put forth
his strength and make us feel it.

But, Mr. Chairman, as I desire not
to trespass on the patience of this com-
mittee, I will in a few words state what
appears to me to be the real grounds of
opposition to a non intercourse law,
which I consider as the only effectual
measure. One member has told us his
tobacco is not sold. Another that it
would sacrifice at least one years crop.
And a third, that it will operate harder
upon his constituents, than in any other
parts of the union. And here I must an-
ticipate the situation of a fourth class,
that has not sold their wheat. And ano-
ther class of citizens I should have add-
ed to this list of anticipated sufferers,
if we had not been informed from high
authority, that they were like slippery
eels, that could slip round and evade
any law. I mean the merchants, who
doubtless have on hand large quantities
of flour, beef, pork, &c. But as we are
told they are cool calculating rogues,
and therefore well able to help them-
selves, I shall leave them to manage
their own business, in their own way,
and close the catalogue of sufferers with
the case of my immediate constituents
in New-Jersey—they are many of them
poor tenants, who depend upon paying
high rents, and supporting their families,
by raising produce for market, and can
only by steady industry, and rigid eco-
nomy, pay their rents, and support their
families. If produce falls one hundred
per cent. what must their situation be?
Will not they merit at least an equal
share of commiseration with rich land-
holders, who clear by raising tobacco,
cotton, or rice, from five to ten, or fif-
teen thousand dollars per annum? I
hope no member on this floor will con-

clude they do not. Yet, Mr. Chairman, I am bold to say on their behalf, that if it depended upon their voice, they would say pass the law. They would say, as some of their fathers said at the commencement of the revolutionary war—we will put on our old cloaths and wear them over again—we will reject her manufactures, and forego the sweets of her islands, rather than submit to her insolence, and the cruelty of her commanders of armed vessels, pressing our fellow citizens in the mouths of our harbors, and by stripes and cruelty, compelling them to assist in fighting their battles against nations in amity and peace with us! This, I believe, would be their language—and not their's only, but a great majority of the citizens of the United States. So far am I from believing with my friend from Georgia, (Mr. Early) that if all the people of the United States were fully informed of the conduct of Great Britain, nine tenths would reject the present resolution—nineteen twentieths would call upon us to pass a non intercourse law—to prohibit trade with that nation, until she restored our seamen, and entered into arrangements to trade with us in future, upon terms of perfect reciprocity.

A peace neutrality, a non intercourse law, to enforce the resolutions sent by the Senate to our President, will be more efficacious than fifty ships of the line and one hundred frigates. The voice of our beloved country calls upon us. The voice of a respectable class of our citizens, (the merchants) who more immediately suffer loss of property. The voice of humanity. The sighs of aged parents, lamenting the absence of their beloved offspring. The heart rending cries of tender females, for the loss of their bosom friends. All supported by the eternal, immutable principle of equal justice, united, calls aloud to the Congress of the United States to apply an effectual remedy to this horrid scene of injustice, oppression and tyranny! God grant that we may no longer turn a deaf ear, or treat with indifference these calls.

As I do not intend to impose upon the committee by frequent communications, I must beg their attention a few minutes longer. Mr. Chairman, the confident declamation of a member, (Mr. Randolph) who has taken up the time of the committee more than three times as long as any other, has brought to my remembrance the language of one, who in his day, was called the wisest of men, (Solomon)—"Woe to thee, oh land, when thy king is a child."—Woe to these United States, if ever that day should arrive, when a majority of her legislature should be children—rocked on downy pillows—dandled in the lap of pleasure, and fed at the table of luxury—whose knowledge is all theoretic, acquired by reading, seated in easy chairs. These are the mushrooms—the fungusses—the premature hot bed productions that we have been so often told of—notwithstanding they have had the assurance, (may I not more properly say insolence) on this floor, to treat the arguments of all who differ from them, as trifling and unworthy of notice; and those resolutions which other members have introduced, as spurious illegitimate productions, and their authors and supporters as horn book politicians, not having learned their A. B. C. and what is much worse, they never can; being so void of reason, that they ought to be put in straight waistcoats, and confined in dark rooms!—But one ray of comfort, doubtless, strikes every honest mind in observing, that this number of arrogant dictators is small. God grant that they may not barely remain small, (but if they continue their late insolent conduct) at the next election be removed.

Mr. Chairman, members of this House, who frequently take a retrospective view of the revolutionary war, whereby the colonies of North America became free and independent states—who remember the time, when the American army, reduced to a skeleton, a handful of men dispirited by defeats, and hard pressed by a powerful victorious army, crossed the Delaware at Trenton; and in addition to the reduced state of the army, a mortal disorder raged in various parts, which caused some to observe, that it appeared as if the hand of Providence was turned against us; but in the sequel, had thankfully to acknowledge, that not by their own power, but through the mercy of the allwise disposer of events, this powerful army was turned back again, and finally obliged to leave this land with shame and disgrace!

I say those members will not rise on this floor and assert, that that government, headed by the same monarch, is now fighting the battles of liberty, and is the only barrier we have against Gallic tyranny—neither will they pour torrents of abuse upon the government of that nation, which was instrumental in procuring our freedom, and still ma-

fests a friendly disposition, a disposi-
on to treat our citizens with respect,
nd our commerce with justice.

No, Mr. Chairman, I hope and trust,
ere yet remains in this House, and in
is nation, a great majority who be-
eve in the existence of a supreme omni-
otent power, that not only reigns above,
it doth whatsoever he sees meet
nongst the children of men! These
ill not depend upon the fleets and ar-
ies of Great Britain to defend us from
allic, or other tyranny—these will be
ncerned to act justly and impartially
wards all nations, depending upon the
od of justice, truth and mercy, to
ess their honest endeavors, and to pre-
rve them and their constituents from
harm. With this class, however
ey may be despised by the wise and
rned, in their own conceit; it is my
pleasure—my joy—my comfort—and my
glory to act. These I salute as my be-
loved brethren, and for their encourage-
ment under the torrents of abuse that
they have received; let them remember
that the just man's path is a bright and
shining light, that shines more and more
unto the perfect day, and that all who
walk in it walk safely, and have nothing
to fear! I shall conclude with recom-
mending to the perusal and attention of
those wise and learned members before
alluded to, one verse of that justly cele-
brated prayer, composed by Alexander
Pope:—

"Let not this weak, unknowing hand,
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round a land,
On each, I judge, thy foe."